● 539

[For the native text of the clan war-bundle ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 446-529, 534-550.]

MOTHER-IN-LAW AND FATHER-IN-LAW TABOO

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

Waxop' inixjiwina	hina'djire naⁿdje'je	wahadjex.
Spirits	am I likely to be blessed?	that is why I am praying.

[539 ● 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the 764
casket.

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with [765]
charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave.

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village 765
and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed.

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

> All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any con- 765
> sequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of 539
> mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared 775
> cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you.

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

> To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell[1] me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They[1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

> Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

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[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggeration while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 539 775 Now here are these things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator (between the spirits and us). You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that all these things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for as you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brothers any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.[5] So, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 539 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,[6] but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

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[5] It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. His function at the wake is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

[6] I. e., if I were a great man and this were a ceremony of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of ceremonial modesty.

and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you 765
have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many 539
things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here.

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish 765
that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed 539
the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occa- 775
sion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it.

Then he says "*ha-a*" and "*ha-a*," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind you on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth.[4] This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

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[4] The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

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765 539 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks, grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*hitcakáro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(FIRST VERSION)

764 184 614 [615] Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

> [775 539] You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

764
of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band 184
and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity
to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you
come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following 764
request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that 184
you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which 614
Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the 539 ●
road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, 775
for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' 765
wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered 184
by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 614

Address to the spirit.[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become 539
like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth 775
miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

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[1] Spirit here is [illegible], spirit, deity, not [illegible], ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

765 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
775 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

> [539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunderbirds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

764 Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[1]

184 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
614 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
[763] be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

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[1] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lamere and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 13, no. 3, 1911.

One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors 764
to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. 184
After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the 614
deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact.

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

> You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything [539]
> that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living.
>
> Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.
>
> For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

> Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have [539]
> come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress.

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so)—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all. [431]

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as [illegible]) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may [775]

765
tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said 184
before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we 614
should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They
were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and. 539
inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for [775]
that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause
the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story [775]
as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at
the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed
to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all.

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in 765
his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After 184
two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 614

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765 184 614 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND*

● 539 775 765 Ho! Ho! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests.

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fire might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives begged for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

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*Obtained from Henry Cloud.

the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Herecgú'nina, and his fire. Those 539
who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back 775
will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the 765
footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wac'e'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the 765
people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related 184
his war experiences. 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. [431] The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W. was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. [524] As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for 768
four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE BUFFALO CLAN

764 Told by a member of the clan.[a] If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

> 614 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I
> 539 will talk to him about the road he is to take.
>
> Ha"ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Red Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

> Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

> Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE FOUR NIGHTS' WAKE

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

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[a] This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed 539
from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not 765
walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home.

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

GRAVE-POST MARKS 764

(DRAWINGS BY INDIANS) 532

(Fig. 29)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).

Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'I').

Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixó'na) (rek'I"').

Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngonaŋk).

Warrior had made a captive (waŋgini).

Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.

If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part?) of the grave-post red.

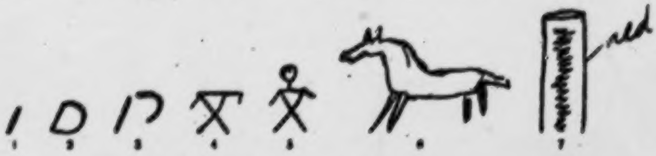

Fig. 29. – Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

ORIGIN MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)[3]

539 614 776 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.[4] He began to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow, but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

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[3] Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird wake.

[4] This myth is reprinted from Radin, Winnebago tales, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXII, no. LXXXV, 1909. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker 539
felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He 614
made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These 776
first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers Kunuga, Henanga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth The oldest one, Kunuga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake[*] at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down-woman*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

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[*] This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

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539 614 776 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in [554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, 539
and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter 614
with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they 776
waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-weight*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started [illegible]find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). [illegible]aps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body, 539 614 776 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode. If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward this world. They came to a country called (*ni jahe*, cliff place?), and there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around they went through space, but the second time they went along this earth, at a place called *derok* (Within Lake). There they built lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I know something." The thing about which they did not know anything was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to prepare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and produced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

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* The ceremonial manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then 539
the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and 614
slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, 776
which was then heated over a fire.

Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.[1]

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything; the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)[2]

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of? Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

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[1] The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being is meant.

[2] This account seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

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something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

THE WARRIOR CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

[552
266] Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was customary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

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178 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the *wonayire ūa'ŋkcik* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361]
000 The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge. 614 727

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give each other orders that had to be obeyed. 614

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time. [785]

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46). [302]

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

> The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this. [721]

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number of war bundles. [778]

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it- 614 539 776

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

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614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their
feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about
to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the
Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with
[783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long
lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people
taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-
maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is
the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived
as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

614
533

CLAN SONGS

First song

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

Second song

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The
Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few sur-
vivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever
[778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hceiga'ruxega*, 231
Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hotcikiga*, Picks-acorns; black 552
dog with white around the neck, *hote hagewanuga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *noruxuga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Tcapiracetcga*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *tcahoruweke*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION [15]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigega*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

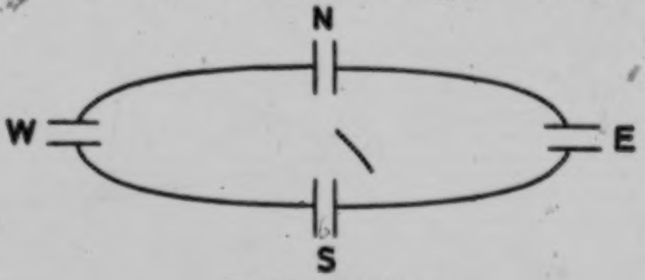

FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

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[15] There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. [illegible].

614 539 776 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt basswood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans?) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[9] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*habamanina*, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

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[114]

[9] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the bears. The color translations are only approximate.

ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the 614
first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track 539
of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone 776
by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan.

FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan [so-called "true" version]: Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version [so-called "minor" version]: In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
● 539 came upon the footprints of human beings.

776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the footprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION [17]

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

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[17] Told as the origin myth of the Bear feast.

diately. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and 614
strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. 539
To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it 776
shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (*wajiga*) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (*wadogega*, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire? Had you not better start?" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

614 539 776 food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickers became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they all became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. Thus they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan. 614 539 776

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. [825] The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature. 614 533

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

Song 2

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

Song 3

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

Song 4

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

THE WOLF CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later 614 539 776 on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. [131] When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home.

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue [764 775] (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time."

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
● 539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore those two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

First song

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

Second song

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

[illegible] (WOLF CLAN)[a]

614 Cuñgewahiga . . . . Hunting dog.
551 Cuktcagk'a . . . . Wolf.
[illegible] . . . . Wolf (archaic name).

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[a] The following names are from the Dorsey list.

614 [764] Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

[323 576] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[303] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 ● 539 776 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

CLAN NAMES

WAK'TCEXI HIK'IK'ARADJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 He-adaja"jąk'a	Shining horns.
551 Hénų"pąga	Two horns.
Hep'ī"wiga	Handsome horn.
Hesatcąk'a	Five-horned.
Hedjopga	Four-horned.
Mąk'a"ująga	He who plants medicines.
Mąk'a"hedja"pąga	He who looks at medicines.
Ne"p'ańip'i"wiga	Good cold spring.

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Maⁿjiwiñga	Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs). 551
Maⁿnąp'ąga	Second earth person.
Ni-acgadjewiñga	She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwiñga	She who walks on the water.
Ni-aⁿp'iⁿwiñga	She who makes water good.
Ni-aⁿdagewiñga	Still water.
Nirauga	Stream person.
Nihuga	He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'aⁿpewiñga	She who jumps into the water.
Nidjoboga	Four streams.
Niwak'itcaga	Selects (?) water.
Wakdjexicicik'a	Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihuŋga	Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximaniga	Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'iŋga	Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexiskaⁿwiŋga	White Water-spirit.
Hep'iŋga	Good horn.
Wadjaxedega	Big boat.
Hip'ahiga	Sharp tooth.
Rahawiŋga	Beaverskin woman.
Rahewiŋga	Beaver.
Hejiŋga	Short horn.

THE BUFFALO CLAN

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

ORIGIN MYTH[a]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173

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[a] The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way. 539

614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is. 173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would 339 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they [431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this [867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,[a] this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents. [431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

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[a] He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).[a] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

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Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [783] [276]

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[a] The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a 614
black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the 539
earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were 776
going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[38] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they [551]
went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[39] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[40] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they [551]
call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[38] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[39] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk. [554-301]

[40] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

776 The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in
614 control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day
[823] will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard,
[789] that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-*
[551] *with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red". Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

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CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA WIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

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Tcasephônk'a	Black deer chief.
Wagizana'pl'i'ga	Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnkcaⁿpiⁿwinga	Deer vagina.
Mank'isagasepga	Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatconiwinga	First deer woman.

THE ELK CLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earthmaker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372] [622]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

CLAN NAMES

614 551

HU^{n}WA^{n} HIK'IK'ARADJERA (ELK CLAN)

Roha^{n}maniwiŋga	Many walking.
Rek'uhumaniwiŋga	She who walks with the wind.
Tcatchiruxewiŋga	She who pursues the wind.

SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

CLAN NAMES

WAK'A^{n} HIK'IK'ARADJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

614 551

Haŋkcimiŋk'a	Lying snake.
Hip'ahiga	He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodiŋga	She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urudiwiŋga	She who crawls.
K'irixminaŋk'a	Sits coiled up.
Gisawek'inaŋk'a	Sits quiet in her (home).
Hokciga	High snake.

HO HIK'IK'ARADJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-apcudjewiŋga	Red fish scale woman.

CLAN AFFILIATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ha^{n}boguwiŋga	East woman.
Huŋkminaŋk'a	Sitting chief.

756 796 [264] small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 775 539 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

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[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[6] [825]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters. [825]

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[7] approved of my coming. They blessed me. [772] Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

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[6] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[7] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

756 from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him.
775 Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed,
539 nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The
[782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself 755
as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I 782
offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know 776
that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 539 ●

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Haⁿ ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
● 539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

THUNDERCLOUD'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES[1]

HOW WEGI'CEKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER[2]

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ceka. As soon 776
as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told 787
his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many 539
good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ceka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ceka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally, for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

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[1] Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagoes well known to the tribe have been cast in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experiences, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

[2] Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, meant by such statements was not so much a total lack of success as an incomplete blessing. So, for instance, Wegi'ceka does really receive a [illegible] as a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice conferring some blessing, but as a flash of light.

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his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a cocked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not
bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[a] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

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[a] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Herok'a, or Those-without-horns.

The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159 775

T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. 539 When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

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159 775 539 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 775 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 773 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djuŋk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djuŋk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE RECEIVED BLESSINGS FROM THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunt- 796
ing so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. 539 ●
All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. 575
After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the
other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the
feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought
other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs [252]
would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as
the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The 575
attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would 796
look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they 604
selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work 539
connected with this ceremony.

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on
the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should [726]
his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return
home.

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village
and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been [203]
blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same.

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● 539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

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575 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

[782] Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life: that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great counciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one 796
will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and 776
what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but 539
this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is 575
not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would 688
most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make
use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never
be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people
[824] who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the
plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain
life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing.
But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have
held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat
of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might
be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the
night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are
seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the
west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this ceremony,
776 and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood.
By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what
to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars
[821] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines
are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits
therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are
good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed
by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines
of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings
of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to
whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything
correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now
going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs
about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces
(from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but
forgive us for it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated
here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they
always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the
dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 796
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[16]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

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[16] From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the [782] north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776] told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. 796
This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from 776
which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-sol- 787
diers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers 575
in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed 539
a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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They then rise and make four circuits of the lodge, first stopping at the first seat, then at the second, then at the third, and lastly at the fourth. When they get back to their starting place they sing dancing songs, first stopping at the west end of the lodge and then at the entrance. This they repeat. By this time all the songs they had intended using have been sung, so they make four circuits of the lodge and then, taking the drum, gourd, etc., place it in front of the north band. When the dancers are all seated the leader of the north band rises, and greeting everyone speaks as follows:

"I was not pitied because I was a child of the night-blest ones, my father told me. Yet if I performed my duties aright I would be able to make the proper speeches when called upon, I was told. That I have been pitied now is due to the fact that these people here wished to have me obtain life. Certainly my invitation to this ceremony has made me think of life, as my father used to tell me. I do not for a moment imagine that they invited me because I was a great man. Nevertheless my father told me to say that it was good; and that if I really meant all that I said, my life would certainly be strengthened thereby. My father knew how to perform this ceremony correctly, but I am not able to do so. Although I was told it was a good thing, nevertheless I was not able to pour tobacco. Those whom we call the Ones-with-the-rounded-wood are in charge of very much life and they are holy. This affair is not a thing to be trifled with, my father told me. Yet in spite of this we will sing some songs, even though we know that we will not be able to sing them as they have been sung heretofore. Perhaps, however, you will be kind enough to be satisfied with whatever we do. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he was finished he rose again and, greeting all, spoke as follows:

"When Those-with-the-rounded-wood start to walk their sisters are placed in front of them. Our sisters we will now place in front of us, so that thereby they may be blest with life and hold the principal sticks and staffs. We will use the toys so that we may be strengthened thereby, we think, and that is why I greet you."

Then they permit the women to lead the procession. These women walk in front, side by side, and are followed by the ones carrying the gourds, who dance with their backs toward them. Then come the drummers and the feast-givers, and after these, all those who desire to join in. They walk around the lodge making strange utterances. Four times do they make the circuit of the lodge and then they come and stop at the east end, where they sing. When they are through here they start around the lodge again and stop at the west end and sing. Then they start again, making the same strange utterances as before, until they come to the east end of the

lodge, where they sing once more. When they have in this manner 796
sung all the songs that they wish to use the leader of the north 575
band makes the four circles as before and brings the tobacco, gourds, 539
etc., to the west band. Then they all take their seats. Now the leader of the west band rises and speaks as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives, to you all who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. You who occupy the first seat, you who occupy the north seat, and you who occupy the seat at the end of the road, I greet. I do not mean to say anything of consequence. I was taught this ceremony, but I do not know anything about it. However, I always honored it, for I was told that it was a good thing. Indeed, I knew it, but I could never perform it well. I was told that if I performed it well I would obtain life thereby, just as others have done. Well, some of you are able to do it. It is a very great council feast. How, indeed, can the spirits ignore what you have done for them to-day? If they acknowledge it, we who are representing the directions will receive blessings through the host who is giving the feast. That is what I mean. When we hold our mediators (that is, the drums, tobacco, etc.) we will be strengthened thereby. So with this in our minds, let us take and hold them. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he had finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, I send you greetings, as well as to you who sit in the first seat, to you who sit in the north, and to you who sit at the end of the road. It is said that when the night-soldiers come they walk over the entire extent of the earth. When they blessed my grandfather they blessed him with life. So he used to say of himself. We will now plead for these powers in our songs. We will place our sisters in front and follow them. That is what I wanted to announce to you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they made the complete circuit of the lodge until they came to the place where they had been sitting. There they made a circle. Then they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the south position and made a circle. Here they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped at the east end and made a circle. Then they made the last circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the north band and made a circle. By this time all the songs that they were to use had been sung. The leader now made four circuits and brought the gourds, drum, tobacco, etc., in front of the south band. All now took their seats and when they were seated the leader of the south band arose and spoke as follows:

796 "Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet you. You who sit in the
575 first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I
● 539 greet. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated within
this lodge, I greet you all. It is good that to-night you have tried to imitate your grandfathers, that you have tried to take the place of the spirits. You have said enough with which to obtain life. But I am more unfortunate. I can never do what my ancestors did or say what they said, and for that reason I suppose my talk will be quite worthless. I was told that if at any time I should be pitied, not to talk foolishly about this ceremony. If I am a bad man I will act foolishly in this affair, I was told.

"My grandfather was blessed by those whom we call the night-soldiers, who blessed him with certain utterances. As many black-birds as there are, that many appeared to him as Night Spirits. Our utterances will be an imitation of those he received when he was blessed. We can only guess at these.

"We were told that when we hold the mediators we will be strengthened by them. Night-blessed spirits who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he began the starting songs, and when these were finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet your seats. You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. Those whom we call night-soldiers treated their sisters as holy and placed them in front. In imitation of these soldiers we will now put our sisters in front, so that we may be strengthened thereby. I wish to announce that we now place the women at the head of our procession. Let us all come together, so that we may be strengthened. That is our desire and that is what we are pleading for. I greet you."

When they are ready to begin the dancing songs all rise and form in line, having the women lead them. Then the men with the gourds, their backs turned to the women, follow, then the drummers. Then all those join who feel so inclined. When they have finished all the songs they intend to use they bring back the drum, gourd, etc., to the middle of the lodge and stop dancing. Then they return to their seats and then the leader rises and says:

"Councilors, relatives who are seated here, I greet you. You who are seated in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you all. Whenever a night-blessed child holds council, when he is invited to a feast and is given the position at the end of the road, the intention of the feast-giver is to enable him to obtain life. So they told me, and that is what they meant. Most assuredly have they caused me to think of life. When I hold the mediators in my

hand I am holding life, and when I pass them on to the others, to 796
my relatives and to my sisters, I am passing on life to all of them. 575
In this way were we made to think of life. I will not detain you 539
any longer. All that I wish to say is that I am thankful. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sat down and the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. It is good. This is what I wanted but have not been able to say. You, however, told it all in my place. It is good. Of all things this is the foremost, it is said. The instruments with which to ask life you have placed before me. That alone is enough to live on and that you have done for me. It is good. Your forefathers dreamed just as the spirits did, and how they obtained life, all of that you have told me to-night. It is good. You have said enough to obtain life. It is good. I say this because I am thankful. If you do anything, do it in the right way, I was told. I understand this ceremony, but nevertheless what I have done is the best I could do; I will now place the food before you. I am an old man, but I have always performed this affair just as I have performed it to-day, and, although I know that I have not done it in the right way, yet it was my turn to do it, and I did it. I am an old man, and for that reason I am not able to procure meat anywhere. My relatives helped me and that is why I have been able to do it. Here are four kettles of hot water. I will place them in the center of the lodge for you. The one in the east and the one in the north and the one in the west and the one at the end of the road: each one may have it. Children of the night-blessed ones, all who are seated here, to all do I send greeting."

Then the leader of the east band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. You who sit over there in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are all to arise soon and that is why I announce this."

Then the leader of the north band rose and said: "We also will rise, as it is our turn. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the west band rose and said: "The time has come for us to rise. I and my relatives will now rise. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. I greet all who have been blessed by the Night Spirits, each one in turn. We are now going to rise."

Then the leader of the east band said again: "Councilors, I greet you. We will now greet the hot water and I will use a song."

796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."

539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song.
I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE BUFFALO SPIRITS

796 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for
575 giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to
539 get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*ma*^{n}*warup'urura*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor
[787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

787

plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. 796
He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The 575
buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and 539
give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had [792]
given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the 796
attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we 575
will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while pre- 539
paring the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

Song 1 [573]

Nangura homa'ni hiwiiĕ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

Song 2

Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

Song 3

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

Dancing song

Hodja'noka tcawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'na. (Repeat twice.) Wigи'rĕ. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the maⁿwarup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands." 796 755 575

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

[533 539]

1

Nowine'na nowine'na haⁿpteaⁿnĕ.
I am he, I am he, the day it is I.

2

Ha'naⁿniŋxguⁿne'k'tcs hiniŋgai'rĕ nink'tca'iⁿniŋkara djanĭŋga'grĕ.
That you would be listened to you were told by the children as many as there are.

3

Maⁿtcō'jaⁿ ho'dadjohi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'woaatcaⁿtcīⁿ nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratcaⁿtcīⁿ nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *waŋgenigke-iⁿ* dance.[a] 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *waŋgenigke-iⁿ* dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death." . . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

THE FAREWELL DANCE

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 593

I 539 ●

Hi'shă wajo'ji yare'naⁿ da'tcaⁿ wa'ŋkšonagre wajaⁿ ana'ŋgere; hi'sha 535
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth 721
wajo'ji yare'nAⁿ.
he tells I hope.

II

Cuŋkena'ŋgere je'sha hidanaŋkik'ī'na dotcā'ŋkera waŋge'ninge: je'sha
Those dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanaŋkik'ī'na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ragoni'nAⁿ wajaⁿ s'i'p'anai'na dotco'ŋkera; jige' yare'nAⁿ.
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'rocke xawa'nigkteane'nAⁿ dotcaⁿ waŋkerarīcha xawa'nigkteanenAⁿ
Even that they my will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

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[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaⁿp'e'ra naⁿjiⁿwinĕ. 796
Soldiers get up. 614

II

Wajaⁿnijaⁿ teexigi'ji naⁿjiⁿ'aⁿdjĕ. 533
Something difficult get ready. 539
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaⁿp'e'ra newine'nAⁿ hu'nagirera.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaⁿp'e'ra hi'jaⁿ wine'nAⁿ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

CEREMONY OF UANGERU

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

KIKRE WACI AND TCEBOKONAⁿK DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokonAⁿk* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away
and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life.
At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I
was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person
told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Every-
[177] body loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught
Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopa-
lian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious
matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also
desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country
and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy
[273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became
as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the
devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit
276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked
them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I
794 had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote
and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians
from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was
enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil
that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions
have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only
working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went
hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

out water and without food. He was about to die of thirst but he continued until he reached the foot of a certain hill, on top of which he could find shade under a tree that was growing there. There he desired to die. It was with the greatest difficulty that he reached the place and when he got there, he fell over on his back and lay thus, with his body stretched toward the south, his head pillowed against something. He extended his right arm to the west and his left arm to the east, and as he did this, he felt something cool touch his hands. "What is it?" he thought to himself. So he took the one that was close to his right hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. There was water in it, although it also contained food. Then he took the one close to his left hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. Then as he lay on the ground a holy spirit entered him and taking the spirit of the Indian carried it away to the regions above. There he saw a man who spoke to him. "I have caused you to go through all this suffering, for had I not done it, you would never have heard of the proper (religion). It was for that reason that I placed holiness in what you have eaten. My Father gave it to me and I was permitted to place it on the earth. I was also permitted to take it back again and give it to some other Indians.

"At present this religion exists in the south but now I wish to have it extended to the north. You Indians are now fighting one another, and it is for the purpose of stopping this, that you might shake hands and partake of food together, that I am giving you this peyote. Now you should love one another. Earthmaker is my father. Long ago I sent this gospel across the ocean but you did not know of it. Now I am going to teach you to understand it." Then he led him into a lodge where they were eating peyote. There he taught him the songs and all that belonged to this ceremony. Then he said to him, "Now go to your people and teach them all that I have told you. Go to your people in the north and teach them. I have placed my holiness in this that you eat. What my father gave me, that I have placed therein."

Then he told him to go home. He thought he had been dead, but it was really his spirit that had left him. After a while the man got well again.

There were many peyote near the place where he was lying and these he picked before he started. Then he went back to his lodge. He thought he had been lost, but it seemed hardly possible to him that this was the case. His being lost in the hills seemed to symbolize to him the condition of the people before they had eaten the peyote; they would be lost and then find their way again.

On his return he built a peyote lodge and for four nights he taught the people how to eat peyote. He did not, however, teach it as he was told, nor did he teach it thoroughly. Those to whom he taught

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

794 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[3] They
539 used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and
276 the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

159 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri
794 River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it.
276 I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

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[3] This is clearly Hensley's interpretation.

x796 After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and
539 thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then
[788] night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the
[533] lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhį'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

x796 *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant,
805 member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called
[776] deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war
554] bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the
789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really 276
branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small com- 435
pact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico 795
down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the
Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of
Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in 276
these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have 178
little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains.

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear 795
out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were indus- 177
trious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows con-
siderable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus 539
Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus:

Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.
"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it.
Hunkma Jashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi
Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth
uinek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdee
should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day
waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila
bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours
waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke
forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't
wazawoishana uwahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige
(into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us
kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja
get away Kingdom thy and power thy
Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.
and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," [192]
meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen.

177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

194 [a12] The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

A	ae	ai	ao		k	ke	ki	ko	
w	we	wi	wo		a	e	i	o	
m	me	mi	mo		l	le	li	lo	
n	ne	ni	no		t	te	ti	to	(explosive)
l	le	li	lo	(ja)	tt	tte	tti	tto	(cha chay chi cho)
y	ye	yi	yo	(ga)					
r	reke	reki	roko	(ska ske ski sko)					
s	se	si	so						
h	he	hi	ho						
g	ge	gi	go						

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nocbunenan kesekok apron. Nas ta kat kaz achpechtanechtow*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored
kiwichswon. Nas ta kat pimikat kikokemawin. Ananechtamon nas ta
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to
kat esekemakat tepa kesekok minik ios achkibe. Meseach
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us
iochpe as kesekok nepakisiganemenan achtanechkin kesegaton. Ponikatatawerach
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us
minin kaies nachkebehaan asis ponikitatawakichtoa kaies
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those
nachkibiamachtoa. Pon minin ishiaseach kakitzipanichtoane.
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.
Miakonamowerach ta mata. Amen.
Take it away from us. Amen."

brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made 539 ●
up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest 575
together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his 756
heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live.

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they [823]
think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center
of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with 575
the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles repre- 756
sent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago [825]
medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[illegible]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They 575
were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the 756
fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge cere- 796
mony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[illegible] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini;—four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony.

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

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[illegible] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[illegible] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 3.

*159 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He
755 then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help
782 yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

The Prayers to the Spirits

*159 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that
755 if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever re-
782 quest I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as
776 you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you
539 blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being
● who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would 159*
be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be 755
able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance 782
to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here 776
is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home 539
after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there.
The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you
now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering
you, grandfathers.

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
would help me. You said that I would never fail in any-
776 thing I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and
● 539 shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be
opened out before him. That is what you promised to
me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
000 you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

You said that I could use all the best herbs that 159*
grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect 755
cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and [782]
I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. [916]
[218]
[539] ●

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. 159* He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One 754 night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did.

He had been married to my eldest sister and after 159* her death wished to marry the second sister. Where 756 he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earthmaker,[*] my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the

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[*] Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [557] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega

*159 787 ●539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to him- 159*
self, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits 787
and he put every one of them in control of something, so 539 ●
people say. He himself must therefore be much more 776
powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker.

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out- 159*
of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife. 539

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. 787
He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die."

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

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[11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never 159 *
be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the 776
languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; in- 787
deed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very 539
first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confi- ●
dence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird.

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. 159*
When I found myself alone I began to think that some- 787
thing ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: [551]

My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be 159*
blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 539
787
[785]

*159 ●539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, [785] "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[13] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, choxjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

[776] [13] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies.

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from 159*
the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and 539 ●
stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long 781
have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us [785]
that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Jobenangiwinxga cried.

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten 159*
nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. 539
"Human being, I have come after you." He followed the 781
spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night 776
Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to

* 159 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits.
● 539 This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it con-
787 tains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food.
776 Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the
lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village
of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many
war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that
you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food,
[782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your de-
scendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation
lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry
787 to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching
you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my
father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of
it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day
dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother
[577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was
going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I
was hungry and I also knew that on the following night
we were going to have a feast, and that we would have
to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that.
So I went home. When I got there I told my people
the story I had told my brother; that I had been
blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was
not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is
carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

§5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a 159 *
family they give him the means for obtaining a happy 593
life. If the older people think highly of any one they [554]
prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

The Story of the Origin of Our Clan

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. 539 ●
Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began 614
to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears 776
flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

539 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do
614 the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw
776 that they were good. But even these did not make the earth
quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was
not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created
[823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four
corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I 539
will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four 614
more like himself. Just like the others he made them. 776
They were brothers—*Kunuga*, *Henuga*, *Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the
earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where
they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out
before them. He told them that they were to go down
there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he
added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the
power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to
you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you
make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to [782]
accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This
shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given [276]
them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said,
"All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take
this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by
calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits
get some. And another thing I send with you that you may
use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care [372]
of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings,
and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

539 *Within-lake* at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wiscon-
619 sin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where
776 they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down.*" Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth.*" Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunderbirds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon
[911] the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

Names

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued. 539 614 776

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done. [231]

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

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thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunderbird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly." Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge.

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When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

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619 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy
776 and lonesome.

*159 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named
619 it was my father who did it. That right he now trans-
553 mitted to my brother.

Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from
*159 above and when they came to this earth everything that
551 happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain.* It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree.* Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders.* Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

[P.40]

§6. *Stories*

When we were children my father used to tell us 538
stories in the evening. Whenever we showed signs of 159*
restlessness he stopped. Here are some of the stories 517
that I remember.

The Story of Coyote and the Ghost

Coyote was wandering about alone. He was wandering 539 about aimlessly looking for food; he was scenting around everywhere for food, for he was very hungry. As he was walking from place to place he suddenly became aware of the scent of human flesh. "Ah! Ah! If there are any human beings in the neighborhood surely they have thrown away bits of food and I shall be able to get some." So he started in the direction of the scent and soon he got to an old abandoned village and picked up some moccasins, but he could find nothing that would satisfy his hunger. He wandered to the end of the village thinking, "Perhaps here at the end of the village I may find some graves and possibly the bodies there will still have some flesh on them." But not even graves could he find.

In the distance, however, he saw a rack and when he ran toward it eager to see what it was, he saw a corpse lying on top. A man had died and his body had been placed on a burial scaffold. "Oh my! Oh my!" he exclaimed, "If this body were only on the ground then indeed

539 I would have my fill." Badly did he want to eat but there was nothing that he could do. So he sat there always looking upwards at the corpse, hungry. He would at times leave it but then return again. This was in the fall of the year and as he sat there he thought, "How I wish this corpse were on the ground! It would last me till spring."

When night came on, Coyote was still there. He prepared to sleep there. Suddenly the corpse spoke, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" Coyote got frightened but he thought to himself, "What shall I say to him?" "Well, what could you possibly smell like, but like small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs." "Good," said the ghost, "come and get it." So Coyote sprang forward and there, much to his surprise, he found a big dish full of corn boiled with bear's ribs. And Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

The next morning the ghost again spoke to Coyote, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" "What indeed could you smell like, but like jerked meat in bear's fat." "Good, come and get it." And there again he found a plate full of jerked meat and bear's fat. And Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

In this way every morning and every evening he obtained food. Dried corn boiled with fruit and watermelon, these too he ate. Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

All winter he lived there with the corpse. Every morning and evening the corpse would ask the same question. One day Coyote decided to ask for something special, so he waited anxiously for the corpse to speak, "Well, Coyote, what do I smell like?" "What could you smell like, but like a bottle of whisky, of dark red color. "Good, come and get it," said the ghost. So there he went and found a square bottle. He pulled the cork out of it, took a drink and before long he was hopelessly drunk. He finished the bottle but he wanted more. Soon it was filled again. In his happiness he gave a war whoop and soon emptied it. Then he lay down drunk. The next morning he was sober, but he was sick of whisky and when the corpse spoke to him he asked for some deer-loin soup. This he drank avidly for as he became sober he was very thirsty. Four times during the winter he got drunk and four times he always sobered up in the same way. 539

Spring was now near at hand and he began meditating upon what he should ask for. Then as the corpse shouted over to him, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" he answered, "Well, what could you smell like but like a warpath?" "Good, Coyote, you may go on a warpath. One man you may go after; one man I bestow upon you." So Coyote started out on the warpath. He came to a village and there he dug up a grave and from it he took a scalp. With this he returned victoriously to the corpse. Before leaving he had sung his farewell song:

"Oh, you grass widows! Oh, you grass widows! When you look at your work, surely you will think of me!"

When he returned with a man's scalp he danced the victory dance, all by himself.

Spring had now come, the real spring. The weather was beautiful; the green grass was up and the days were pleasant. Coyote contemplated himself and he liked his appearance. "How splendid I look!" Sleek and fat he was. He felt like wandering around and visiting people. When, therefore in the morning, the corpse asked, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" he answered, "Well, what indeed could you smell like, but like a stinking corpse with hollow eyes?" "Oh, you greedy, covetous fellow," exclaimed the corpse, "you shall die for this!" Then he chased him but

539 always, at the last minute, just as he was about to be caught, he managed to escape. Finally Coyote ran into a hole and the corpse stationed himself outside and said, "Coyote, you have saved yourself for the present, but surely you do not deserve to be blessed and I will not rest till I have killed you." Just then the corpse grabbed hold of Coyote's tail and the end of it broke off.

Coyote managed to escape eventually and as he ran along he sang:

"Uncles, my uncles! Uncles, my uncles! A corpse has bitten off my tail!"

A bear passed, but he could not help him. Finally, however, a deer, the kind we call chiakshigega, came along and gave him part of his tail. So Coyote had a tail the end of which was white. He liked it very much and as he ran along, he looked at it again and again. He was very proud of it.

Now this is the reason the chiakshigega deer have short tails and this is the reason why the tip of the Coyote's tail is white.

The Story of the Man Who Avenged the Death of His Wife

Once an old man lived together with his daughter and son-in-law in one lodge. He was too old to trap or hunt any longer and so depended entirely upon his son-in-law for food. Now this old man possessed the right to give the war-bundle feast and one day he told his daughter that she was to take her husband and her children and accompany him while he hunted for the deer to be used for the feast.

So the husband left with his family and went to a place about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away. 539

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodgepoles were all standing upright and he knew immediately what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found [554] [927]

539 [727] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and [775] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran ahead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When [727] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camping site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [765]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [027]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

539 lage with the news of what his son had accomplished all alone. All the men in the village put on their war paint, took their war clubs and ran to the place where the heads had been deposited. There each man struck one and giving [727] the war whoop, counted *coup* on the enemy. Then they took the heads and brought them to their war lodge. There the victory dance was given and there all praised the man who had accomplished this brave deed.

When the dance was over the man again blackened his face and fasted for ten days. His people gave a feast when he had finished his fast, and at this feast he told them that he was now going on the warpath to rescue his wife who had been captured, and that all those who wished to come along could do so. "To-morrow at dawn," he said, "we will get ready and go to a certain hill and from there start out." So the next morning they gathered at the appointed place and started out. The man led the expedition. They marched all that day and toward evening they built their fires and sat around the fireplace while the old warriors told war exploits. The next day they marched all day again and so on until the third day. On the fourth day the man said, "Now here I shall attempt to locate the whereabouts of the enemy." So he went away and on that very night he succeeded in approaching the enemy's village. He found them all asleep. Then he went to his wife and said, "I have come to get you. The spirit who is in charge of this war-party has given this whole village to me and to-morrow we shall kill them all. Your brothers are outside with me and to-morrow, when we rush upon these people, you must run toward your brothers and tell them that you want to be a prisoner. I shall tell my friends to be on the lookout for you and not kill you. Now remember, do as I tell you, for if you don't, they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then 539 the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed.

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, [727] whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave [782] feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered.

The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land

In a certain village there once lived two young married 539 people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband 775 loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her.

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four ooo

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

They all Came To the Four

539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
1765 all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

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Then the young man arose and continued on his journey. Soon he came to a large body of water that had a very swift current, the water whirling around at a terrific speed. He was afraid to jump across because the land on the other side seemed so small. It looked like the merest speck of green, so small that it had the appearance of a man's eyebrows. Indeed it seemed impossible to jump across but he remembered what the old man had told him and he decided to attempt it. "After all," he thought, "what if anything does happen," and so he closed his eyes and jumped. He landed on the other side and then looked back to see the water. But he could not find it. It was only after looking very carefully that he noticed a very small creek. What he had seen before as a large body of water whirling along at a terrific speed, appeared now as a very small creek. Then he thought to himself: "Perhaps everything that looks difficult to me will in reality be easy," and from this he took courage. Now he felt that he would be able to accomplish what he was seeking.

As he walked along he came to a lodge and in it he found the old man of the previous day with another person just like him. They gave him something to eat and said to him, "Grandson, we will concentrate our attention on the object you have in mind. It is very difficult but since your resolve is so strong you will undoubtedly accomplish it. So go right on and in the next place you will find a friend of ours who will help you. We too shall assist you." Thus they spoke to him.

Then the young man started out again and after a time came to another lodge where he found three old men, two of whom he had seen before, and another. The third one gave him something to eat and spoke to him saying, "Grandson, we are going to help you. You are doing very

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well. Now do all that we have told you for otherwise you will fail in your quest."

Then the young man started out again and after a while came to a knoll where he found a large gathering. Indeed the place was evidently a large village and there seemed to be no end to it. But strangely enough no people were to be seen; not a person was there anywhere. There were many bark lodges and he peeped into them but they were all empty. Finally he entered one and there he found four old men, three of whom he had met before and a fourth one. The fourth one spoke to him, "Grandson, you have come to the place you have been seeking. Your wife, however, you will not be able to see. Now do what I tell you if you ever wish to see her. To-night there is going to be a big dance which you will attend. Now remember, never turn around. We will take care of you."

In the evening he heard a drum beaten followed by some noise, then a shout here and there. Again he heard the drum beaten and ever greater was the noise. The four men arose and said, "Come, it is about time to start, for otherwise the lodge will be too crowded when we arrive."

They proceeded to the center of the village where they found a long lodge which they entered. The young man they placed in the middle. As he sat there he heard some whispering, "Wakisha has come; he has followed his wife as far as this; he is here. Yet his is a fruitless task, for never will he attain his quest." Then the voice began to annoy him and tease him. "Why his wife is married. Indeed I am the one she has married."

Soon after, the singing started. It was wonderful. All his relatives came and sang their songs. They were singing about him. They were saying, "Wakisga has come for his wife; Wakisga has come for his wife!" Thus they teased him. All night they did this but when the sun rose they all disappeared. His wife did not know anything about it. He returned with the four men to their lodge and there he was congratulated profusely. "You have done well grandson, you have done well, but to-morrow the test will be more difficult. Try your best." 539 775

The next evening he heard the drum beat again and after the fourth time, he entered the lodge with the four men. That whole night he was teased and annoyed. The ghosts did everything in their power to make him talk. All sang and the young man thought it was wonderful, more wonderful and exciting than on the previous night. Finally the ghosts began putting their hands on his head, pulling him down and doing all sorts of things to him. He endured it as best he could and finally the day dawned and they all disappeared. He returned with the four men and they cautioned him against the next night.

The third evening had now come. The drum was beaten and the ghosts responded by cheering. At first it was not loud but then it became louder and louder. They entered the lodge. Immediately the ghosts began to tease him and even the six attendants that had been placed at his disposal to help him by the four old men, could do nothing. The singing began again. The young man sat there covered with the blanket and it was hard for him to resist the temptation of turning around. The force of the drumming was simply terrific; it shook the earth with its vibrations. The ghosts tugged at the blanket of the young man, tried to pull him down and fell all about him. At last morning dawned and as the sun rose, they all disappeared. He went home and the old men said to him, "You have done very well. To-morrow will be the last night. It is going to be very hard. There will be eight of us to help you. But

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even then we will be of no avail unless you too do your best."

Toward evening the drum was beaten again and soon the young man walked to the dancing lodge accompanied by the old men. The village had grow rapidly overnight. There were far more ghosts there than on the previous night for they increased just as the number of deaths on earth increased. The dancing-lodge was already crowded when they got there and they were literally almost trodden upon by the ghosts as they entered. As soon as the young man entered, he heard the voice of his wife saying to him, "Well, if you are going to be indifferent to me there was no need of your coming." He almost turned in her direction as he heard this. Then they began to sing. It was glorious. The earth shook from the vibration of their singing. He was pulled down. His wife was most active in this and always he heard her voice. Wrapped in his blanket he sat there. It was jerked off of him again and again, in spite of all that the eight attendants could do Finally toward morning he grew tired and weakened. The ghosts grabbed him by the ankles and pulled him along the floor. It seemed almost impossible to endure. At last the sun came up and every one disappeared.

"Come let us go now." It was the voice of one of the old men. "Grandson, you have conquered. From now on, however, this shall never happen again, for Earthmaker has not ordained it so. It is only because I and my friends blessed you that you have been successful. Go now and bring his wife," they said to one of the attendants. She was brought to the young man and the old people spoke to them, "I have blessed you both. Go to your homes now." Then he gave them a drum painted with blue clay. "If any one dies, this drum will bring his soul to you and if a

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

soul is about to leave the earth, during illness, this drum will bring it back to you. If you pour tobacco for me and my friends, we will always remember you. Now go home. The ghosts will chase you, for they are wicked. Eight attendants will take you home." Then he gave them some ashes and told them to throw them behind them if necessary. 539 115

On their way home they were chased by the ghosts. "Alas, Alas! He has taken our wife away. Let us rescue her!" they shouted. Close they came to the two people but then the young man took the ashes and threw them behind him and the ghosts called to one another saying, "Run away, the ashes will ruin our clothes." They retreated. Again and again this happened but finally the two young people were able to reach the earth.

Coyote Goes on the Warpath

"Come, let us go on the warpath and take Coyote along. He is always up to something foolish, always exaggerating everything he does. Let some one go for him." Then someone went to get him saying, "Coyote, we are going on the warpath. Why don't you come along too?" "Good. Of course I'll go along," and he accompanied the man back to the others. Then each one in turn sang his death song and when it was Coyote's turn he too sang:— 539

"Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?
Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?"

[P. 55]

*159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put
[291] on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the partici-
pants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:

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●539 Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer
726 tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

A War-Bundle Feast

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, 159 *
to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my 796
ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that 782
I never become a weakling.

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, 539 ●
you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one 726
side of your body and death from the other, you whom we [753]
call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life.

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the 159 *
Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the 796
Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest [782]
who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. 539
The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird 726
spoke as follows:

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 764

As soon as they returned home the man in charge
of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

> Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
> you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
> justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 537
> relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
> to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled
> water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as
> soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to
> those who wish any.
>
> It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You
> know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are
> simply following what our ancestors found to be true and
> good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152]
> you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow.
> And even though we weep silently, should any one come to
> us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of
> you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the
> worst of us.

*159 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and
765 gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the
775 departed person. This one then rose and spoke as
● 539 follows:

537 To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you. [182]

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After 159*
that the leader drinks a little water and passes this 765
around too. It is only after pipe and water have 775
passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. 539 ●
When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and 537
some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

> Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate[22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits [577]
> on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

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[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.[7/1]

[7/1] [The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

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765 I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him
[775] by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet
● [539] you all.
[537]

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible
[727] how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at
[775] the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives
[524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any 159*
great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my 765
relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked 537
me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall 539
therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here.

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a pur- 765
pose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had 775
never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the 537
departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, 539
cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right [424]
to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me.

Then he said *ka-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

*159 Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the
965 Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your
775 relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
537 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.

539 I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the 159 *
following four requests: 765

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the 775
lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satis- 537
fied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed 539
to and fro.

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. 159k
Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inas- 765
much as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval 775
by word of mouth, so shall we do the same. [537]
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Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[P. 101]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [626]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [756]

The Road of Life

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 756 539

#159 My son, the first thing you will come to as you travel
756 along, will be a ravine extending to the very ends of the
539 world on both sides. It will look as though it could not possibly be crossed. When you get there you will think to yourself, "Grandfather said that I was nevertheless to pass across." Plunge right through and you will get to the other side.

Now this ravine means that sometimes in life you will lose a child and thoughts of death will come to you. But if you pay attention to my teachings you will be able to go right on and find the road of the lodge on the other side. If you don't try to go beyond, if you get frightened and dwell upon your hardship too much, this will be your grave.

After you have crossed the ravine you will see the footsteps of the medicine men who have gone before you, marked very plainly in the road. Step into them and you will feel good. Then as you go along you will come to an impenetrable brushwood of stickers, thorns, and weeds. You will not see how you can possibly get around them. Then you will remember that your grandfather said that you would be able to penetrate them. This too, you will pass.

The impenetrable brushwood means death. Some one you have loved greatly, but not your wife, will die. You must try to get through this obstacle, not get frightened and not dwell upon your hardship too much. Otherwise this will be your grave.

As you pass along this road, evil little birds will continually din into your ears and will cast their excrement upon you. It will stick to your body. Now don't try to brush it off and don't pay any attention to it. If you pay attention to it you might forget yourself and brush it off and that is not right, and life is not obtainable in this manner.

The Medicine Dance

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The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace.

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

*159 where most encouragement is given for it is most necessary.
956 This is the most difficult of all the places you will come to.
Keep in the footprints of the Medicine Dance man and you
● 539 will be safe. The teachings of the lodge are the only road;
they alone will enable you to pass this point safely.

Soon you will come to a hill and when you reach the foot of the hill you will sit down to rest and eat. You will eat dried ribs of bear meat mixed with spirit-food and this spirit-food will vibrate with life. When you are finished you must climb to the top of the hill and look behind you. There will be no one. But in front of you, you will see many people.

Now this hill means that you have reached that period of life where, because you have always done things correctly, you will be continually partaking of feasts. You will always be invited. The road full of people in front of you represents the members of the lodge who have passed before you. There is no one behind you because you are just beginning to enter on that road.

Soon you will come to another hill. It will look like a nice country full of red stone. There you will find food and you will eat out of a very greasy kettle. When you're finished, climb to the top of the hill and you'll see that some people are now following you and that the number in front will be smaller.

You'll be traveling through better country now, i.e., you'll be taken better care of.

Then as you go along, another hill will loom in sight. You must go toward it and there you will find yourself in a country of red willows and bulrushes. Many presents will you find scattered all along this most pleasing of lands. There you will find your food and when you have partaken of it, ascend as far as the middle of the hill. There as you rest you will see a reddish haze across the land. Then go to the top of the hill. As you look behind you will see many people following you and only a few in front.

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Halfway up the hill, we have said, the land will be covered with a red haze. This is the Indian summer and this means that you will now have reached that period in life where your eyes have become dim. The red willows, etc., signify that your hair has become grizzled. The men in front of you are the older members of the lodge who will assist you by inviting you to the lodge and those in back of you are the younger members who will give you feasts in order to obtain increased knowledge.

Then finally you will come to a fourth hill. This will be a very beautiful country with white poplars everywhere. There, after having eaten at the foot of this hill, you'll climb it and look around. You will see not one ahead of you and very many people following. The place from which you had started, apparently a long time ago, will seem very near. You will have to rest four times before you get to the top of this hill.

This means that when you get to the fourth hill, you will be so feeble that you will have to rest four times before you succeed in getting to the top. The fact that you see no one in front of you on the road means that you have now become the oldest member of the lodge.

As you walk along you'll come to an oval lodge. There you will find a man who will ask you, "Grandson, how have you acted in life?" You must answer, "I don't know." He will answer and say, "Grandson, I know. Take some food." You'll find four dishes and you must take a spoonful of each. When you have swallowed the fourth spoonful your body will be like that of a dog or a flea, i.e., you will be so old that your body will not only be flat but your ribs will

* 159 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in
756 charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become
• 539 unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will
die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to
795 face. He will tell you that you have done well and that
you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

* 159 After the old man had finished telling about the road
756 of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall
796 down and lie quivering on the ground and how to
appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it 159*
amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been de- 756
ceived. They only do this to make money." I also 796
thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge.

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

The Story of the Origin of the World

What it was our father sat on when he came to con- 539
sciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began 796
to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover-

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ing. It was not quiet and kept spinning around continually.

Suddenly he thought, "Now if I do the following it will stop." So he made a covering of hair for it. He took something that was like a weed and made grass, and this he sent earthward. Then again he looked at what he had created. It was not quiet but kept spinning around and around. Then he thought to himself, "Well, I must try another way." He took a tree and sent it earthward and again looked at his creation but it was still spinning around and around. Then he made four men and these he sent to the earth, placing one in the east, one in the north, one in the west, and one in the south. Again he looked at his creation. It was still spinning around and around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four beings that we call the *Island Weights*. They were waterspirits. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth. By this we mean stones. Then finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its whole extent. Only the heads, the tops of the stones, were visible above the ground. He looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had indeed become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appeared motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed like floating spider webs drifting past.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the four-footed animals that were to live on this earth, all the animals who were to live below the surface of the earth, all these he placed in lodges that he constructed for them. Then he created the various insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally at the very end of his thinking he created us human beings. We were not however even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then Earthmaker looked at what he had created and liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts.

He was proud of us and gazed again and again at what he had created. He had, however, made the human beings not equal in strength to the other beings and they were on the point of being destroyed by the bad spirits. Then he formed a being in our likeness and when he finished him he called him Foolish-one. Him he addressed as follows: "*Foolish-one*, to the earth you are to go. Weak, pitiable in all respects, have I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they the evil spirits are likely to injure. So do you, O *Foolish-one*, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth. But when *Foolish-one* came there he did not do what he had been told. Indeed he went around the earth doing nothing. He was as useless as a child crawling around on all fours. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and placed him to the right of himself.

Then he made another being in human semblance and when he finished him he called him *Turtle*. "The two-legged-walkers whom I created as the last of my thoughts, evil spirits are about to exterminate. Do you, O *Turtle*, go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and took along with him a knife. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath and he did not look after Earthmaker's creation. So Earthmaker took back the second man and placed him at his left.

Then he made a third being in human semblance and

539 776 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire [823] island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*." *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* had failed, so *Hare* was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a pail. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

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am going to do." There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There in her womb he remained and yet from there he heard the shrieks and cries of the human beings. "My father sent me to help them and here I am sitting for so long time already," he thought to himself. Shrieking and crying he heard the human beings. "Too long have I been sitting here. In the end the evil spirits will destroy the human beings completely," he thought to himself. Seven months had he been waiting when he said this. Finally when the proper time had come he entered the world through an opening. Four days after that his mother died.

He lived with his grandmother. He would only leave his lodge at night. Then he would roam all around. Whenever he walked inside the lodge, light radiated from him in all directions. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of the work he was to do.

The third time he left the lodge it was sunset. He traveled over half the extent of the earth and he put an end to all the bad spirits who were doing harm. "Not again will any of these live, not again will they harm my uncles and aunts, the human beings." Just before daylight appeared he returned home and there his heart would feel good. He stayed in the lodge wrapped in thought.

On the fourth day when the sun went down he left the lodge and traveled to the very ends of the earth, killing all the bad spirits he met. At about daylight he went up to the sky and pursued all the bad spirits found there, driving them to the west and killing them. Very early in the morning he walked toward his lodge filled with pleasant thoughts. "The work for which my father sent me I have now accomplished. The life of my uncles and my aunts

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will now be like mine," he thought to himself as he entered the lodge.

"Well, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and that I have now attended to. The life of my uncles and my aunts will from now on be like mine." "But, grandson, how can that be, how can the life of your uncles and your aunts be like yours? The world is as our father created it and it cannot be altered." "The old woman must be related to the evil spirits I have killed and that is why she does not like it," he thought. "No, grandson, our father has ordained that my body, the earth shall fall in two. He ordained death lest there be a shortage of food on this earth because of surplus of people; he ordained death lest people crowd each other too much on this earth. He has therefore arranged a place for people to go to when they die."

Hare did not like it. "Surely grandmother is angry because she was related to these spirits. She is taking the part of the evil spirits." Thus he thought. "No, grandson, that is not so. At present your heart feels sore. Your uncles and aunts, however, will obtain ample life, they will live to a normal old age." So she spoke to him. "Now, grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you in this. Try to do what I am now going to tell you. Be a man and do not look back after you have started with me."

Then they traveled around the earth. "I wonder why grandmother told me not to turn back," he thought to himself. So he looked back just the least little bit; just the least little bit he turned to the left. Immediately the place from which he had started caved in. "Oh my! Oh my! A man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I encouraged you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death 539 776 can in no way be taken back."

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two [823] lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age.

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my aunts. When they become like me then only will I be happy. Such is my thought."

Then he went out and walked to the lodge of the spirit who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he sat down. "Well, *Hare,* there is nothing I can do for you. If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no other thought in his head except that he would succeed. When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the latter spoke to him and said, "*Hare,* what you have come for I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crumble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the beings that were living there stopped moving and their limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts and the birds fell down dead.

Then after he had entered his lodge he took his blanket and, wrapping himself in it, he lay down crying. "Not the entire earth will suffice us when we die and in some places there will not even be enough room!"

After a while the news reached our father. He heard the human beings saying that the evil spirits would now try to utterly destroy them. The news reached him that *Hare* was not feeling well. Then Earthmaker said to the first man he had created, "*Hare* is not feeling well. Go after him." *Foolish-one* came to the earth. "*Hare*, I have come to fetch you," he said. But *Hare* did not even answer him; he did not even move in his blanket. So *Foolish-one* returned to Earthmaker. Then Earthmaker sent the second one, *Turtle*, and told him, "Do you go now after *Hare* and bring him here. Try very hard to accomplish it for he is not feeling very well." When *Turtle* came to *Hare* he told him, "*Hare*, I have come to take you back with me." But *Hare* did not even answer. Then he returned and said that *Hare* would not even answer.

Finally Earthmaker sent the fourth one he had created and said, "You are to go for *Hare* and bring him back here. Try with all your strength to accomplish this." "No matter how difficult it is I will accomplish it," he said. He reached the earth and said to *Hare*, "Indeed, for a long time has your heart been sad, *Hare*. Come, let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back to Earthmaker. He did not, however, take him to Earthmaker's lodge but to the one opposite, where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. They placed him near the chief. In front of this lodge there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly shook it gently. So great, however, was the noise that it made that *Hare* got frightened and almost ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 539 776

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Hare*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one, Turtle, Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us. [775]

Then *Hare* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

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lives for themselves, and, grandmother, you are to help me." "Good, grandson, that I will do," said grandmother thanking him.

"When the time comes my friend *Foolish-one* will come," he thought. Then *Hare* struck the drum and started his songs. All of a sudden *Foolish-one* came in. "I thought of your coming, *Foolish-one*, and you are here." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." Then they went out together and outside the village they sat down to discuss what they were to do. When they returned to the lodge *Hare* thought, "My friend, *Turtle*, will come." Then *Turtle* immediately appeared. Said *Hare*, "I thought of your coming and you are here." "Yes, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." In the same way *Bladder* came. Finally *Hare* fixed his thoughts on *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* and he came.

Grandmother listened to them very quietly but she could not understand what they were saying. Then after a while *Hare said*, "What I tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts I have accomplished. You are now going to hear what it is. Come near the fireplace and sit down and then you will hear about it. I know that you too, grandmother, will be anxious to help the human beings." "Indeed, grandson, I am." She got up, took her handiwork, sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their head. She placed her work in front of her grandson, *Hare*. Then she spoke and said, "If you get this ceremony, the Medicine Dance, for your uncles and your aunts, they will live happily. Forever are they to do this." Then she asked, "Grandson, what is the nature of the work that I am to do for you? Well, this is it. Now look at me. Earthmaker, our father, had me bring the following things for your uncles and your aunts. I am going to give them

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

that with which they can always obtain life." Then she opened her dress and there where the heart is, on the left, green leaves became visible and a stalk like an ear. The stalk was white as a blossom. It was corn. "For your uncles and aunts, Earthmaker, our father has permitted me to bring corn." Thus did a stalk become visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were very white. 539 776

Then the five of them arose and said, "Let us greet our grandmother." So they walked up to her and laid their hands upon her head. "It is good, grandmother," said *Hare*. "This is what I meant when I said you were to help the human beings."

Then *Hare* went out and when he got to a place in the east he stopped. Then he turned to the west. Then he thought, "This is the way it will be." He took eight yellow female snakes and threw them in the air. As they fell they became transformed into the side-poles of the lodge. He turned their heads toward the east and their tails toward the west. He used rattlesnakes to tie them with. The doorway he made of two snakes, a black female snake on the left and a male snake on the right. The doors at the rear end of the lodge he made of blue female snakes. Then he took some reed-grass and threw it over the lodge so that it was completely covered. He took another piece of reed-grass and threw it inside the lodge where it became the white mats on which we stand. A bearskin hide he threw in on the right side and it extended along the whole length of the lodge. On the other side he threw a deerskin hide. Then he made a door of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent any bad spirits from entering. At the west door he placed a buffalo bull. When he had completed all these things, he looked inside the lodge and there he heard these animals bellowing and roaring at each other. Light radiated all over the lodge.

He now started for the lodge, he first and his friends following. "Well, my friends, I am through; the lodge is finished. Grandmother, stand up and come with us!" She walked first and after her they all came. When they arrived at the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth. But they entered and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had first come in. Then *Hare* sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth and invite the spirits to the ceremony. Along with them were also sent winged messengers, the crow and the swan.

When these started they all looked young but when they returned their bodies had become old and devoid of hair and they had to support themselves on staffs. The birds too when they returned, came back with wings exhausted, with eyebrows hanging over their eyes, looking very old indeed. In front of *Hare's* seat they stopped and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will forever praise you. We have placed many life-giving objects within this lodge." "Well, my friends," said *Hare*, "it is good. This is what I wanted. I thank you in the names of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been sent out returned. The first four beings created by Earthmaker also came. They stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started but turned back frightened by the animals he saw within. The next two also tried but recoiled back afraid. Finally the youngest opened the door and led them in. They made the circuit of the lodge and at the door *Hare* took the eldest and placed him in the seat at the east. Then he walked around and placed the next one at

the north, then one at the west and one at the south. 539
Then *Hare* took his own seat. 776

Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Hare* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Hare*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat. [181]

Now *Hare* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

539 116 posts. They pushed these deep into the ground so that they would not fall over.

Hare now rose and spoke again, "Grandmother, I shall ever be sitting ready for any of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that has been taught them. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will ache for them. I will go above and sit down, and if any person performs this ceremony, then he will become as I am. Now look at me, grandmother, look at my body!" The old woman looked and lo old! he had become a small boy. "Grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any one repeats this ceremony properly, he will become just like this. Now look at me again," *Hare* said. She looked at him and he had become a full-grown man. When she looked for the third time he had become middle-aged, his hair was interspersed with gray. When she looked for the fourth time, his head was covered as if he were wearing a swan as a headdress and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any of my uncles perform this ceremony properly this is the way they will live."

"It is good, grandson," said the old woman. "However not only your uncles will live like that if they perform the ceremony properly. The same will apply to your aunts. Now look at me, grandson." *Hare* looked and there stood a very young woman, her hair like a smooth shawl. "It is good," said *Hare*; "in the name of my aunts I thank you." Then again he was asked to look and he saw a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. When he looked the fourth time, her hair was entirely dried up, there was a hollow in the nape of her neck, her chin protruded trembling, like a wooden poker burnt short, and her whole appearance was that of duck looking at the sun.

The Medicine Dance

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

*159 [755] 795 786 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home and that is why we used to hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 539 At one meeting[1] O. L. spoke about the old stories. He spoke as follows:

[1] [i.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I Have a Strange Experience

The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coonskin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

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So do we Winnebago act. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, some one called to him: "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did, their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster, he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while, one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can, run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them, but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were stolen from him.

So are we Winnebago. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the Medicine Dance; we say that it

995 539 is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak of it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is Satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened and he heard it say, "If any one eats me, all bad things will come out of him." Then the Trickster went up to the one talking and said, "What is your name?" "My name is *Blows-himself-away.*" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate the thing. After a while he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebago. We travel on this earth all our lives and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious, we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

* 159 795 From that time on I go about everywhere telling every one that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it; that all I had done in the past had been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and by thus thinking was lost, that I now know was false. It is false, this giving of pagan feasts, of holding the old Winnebago things holy, such as the Medicine Dance and all the other customs.